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 ACTION AF-01

RELEASED IN PART
 B1, 1.4(B), 1.4(D)

INFO	LOG-00	AID-01	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00	DODE-00
	EB-01	EUR-01	OIGO-01	HA-09	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00
	IO-16	L-01	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	PA-01	PRS-01
	P-01	RP-10	SP-00	SR-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00
	USIE-00	RPE-01	/051W				

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O 071301Z MAY 94

FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0219

INFO AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE

USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE

WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 KAMPALA 003638

DEPT FOR SECRETARY FROM JOHN SHATTUCK

USUN FOR AMB. ALBRIGHT

GENEVA FOR AMB SPIEGEL

NSC FOR DON STEINBERG

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 FROM A/S JOHN SHATTUCK

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PHUM, PREF, RW, TZ, OAU, BY, UG

SUBJECT: RWANDA: SECOND DAY WRAP-UP, A/S SHATTUCK

MISSION

REF: (A) STATE 119320, (B) USUN 1926

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: ARCHIE M BOLSTER
 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)
 DECLASSIFY AFTER: 7 MAY 2016
 DATE/CASE ID: 06 MAY 2011 201005065

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2. SUMMARY. OVER THE PAST TWO DAYS A PATTERN HAS EMERGED THAT INDICATES THE POSSIBILITY THAT A CEASE-FIRE CAN BE OBTAINED IN THE NEAR TERM, BUT ONLY IF ALL THE ACTORS PLAY THEIR PARTS. REGIONAL LEADERS, INCLUDING THE RWANDAN RIVALS, ALL ACCEPT IN PRINCIPLE THE IDEA OF A CEASE-FIRE. DALLAIRE IS APPARENTLY READY TO CONVENE THE COMMANDERS IN THE FIELD. THE CONCEPT OF AN ENHANCED UNAMIR THAT DALLAIRE HAS PROPOSED - BUT NOT HIS DEPLOYMENT SCHEME (SEE BELOW) - IS WHAT THE AFRICAN LEADERS WANT AND BELIEVE TO BE ATTAINABLE. SALIM SALIM WILL TRY TO LINE UP AFRICAN TROOP CONTRIBUTIONS FOR THE NEW UNAMIR. RWANDA'S NEIGHBORS ARE COMMITTED TO USING THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE CONTENDING PARTIES TO STOP THE VIOLENCE. UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSIONER AYALA LASSO WILL INITIATE HIS MISSION TO RWANDA NEXT WEEK AFTER MY MEETING WITH HIM IN GENEVA TOMORROW. THE HUMANITARIAN COMMUNITY IS ALSO ENGAGED. END SUMMARY.

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3. FRIDAY BEGAN IN DAR ES SALAAM AND IS ENDING IN
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KAMPALA. IN BETWEEN WE STOPPED IN DODOMA FOR A MEETING WITH TANZANIAN ARUSHA FACILITATOR JOHN MALECELA, FLEW ON TO BUJUMBURA TO SEE THE PRESIDENT, PRIME MINISTER AND DEFENSE MINISTER IN THE POST-APRIL 6 INTERIM GOVERNMENT, SAW FROM THE AIR THE REFUGEES AT NGARA AND THE BODIES IN THE KAGERA RIVER ON THE RWANDAN-TANZANIAN BORDER, AND DROVE FROM ENTERBEB AIRPORT TO AN HOUR LONG EVENING MEETING WITH UGANDAN PRESIDENT MUSEVENI THAT DID NOT BEGIN UNTIL 8:30 P.M. DETAILED REPORTING CABLES ON ALL THE MEETINGS ARE ON THE WAY.

4. DURING MY TWO-DAY SWING THROUGH EAST AFRICA, I HAVE TRIED TO STIMULATE A RENEWED COMMITMENT TO ACTIONS BY ALL OF THE ABOVE, SOME OF WHOM HAD BECOME DISSPIRITED BY THE SUSPENSION OF ARUSHA TALKS AND THE GRISLY PROLONGATION OF THE TRAGEDY. NOW IT IS TIME FOR WASHINGTON AND NEW YORK TO DO THE NECESSARY. I WILL HAVE CONSOLIDATED RECOMMENDATIONS WHEN I RETURN TO WASHINGTON, BUT THERE IS NO NEED TO WAIT ON THE MAIN POINT - RESTRUCTURING THE ESSENTIAL INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN MISSION IN RWANDA.

5. DALLAIRE TO CONVENE MILITARY-TO-MILITARY TALKS.

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IN DODOMA FRIDAY MORNING, TANZANIAN PRIME MINISTER
MALECELA STRONGLY SUPPORTED THE IDEA THAT DALLAIRE
SHOULD QUICKLY CONVENE A MEETING OF "HIGH-RANKING
MILITARY OFFICERS" FROM BOTH SIDES TO IMPLEMENT A
CEASE-FIRE. DALLAIRE IS THEREFORE RIGHT TO THINK HE
HAS THE POST-ARUSHA LEAD ON THE CEASE-FIRE
(REFTEL A). MALECELA, THE "FACILITATOR" OF THE
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ARUSHA PROCESS, ECHOED WHAT SALIM TOLD US THURSDAY IN
ADDIS: BOTH SIDES HAD SAID IN ARUSHA THAT THEY WERE
WILLING TO INITIATE A SIMULTANEOUS CEASE-FIRE.
ACCORDING TO SALIM AND MALECELA, FAILURE TO SIGN A
CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT RESULTED FROM RPF ADAMANT
UNWILLINGNESS TO "RECOGNIZE" THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT.
THE BEST WAY TO TEST THE PARTIES IS FOR DALLAIRE TO
BRING THE COMMANDERS TOGETHER. MALECELA SAID THE RPF
MILITARY WOULD NEED A GREEN LIGHT FROM THE POLITICAL
LEVEL BEFORE SITTING DOWN WITH DALLAIRE. IN MY
KAMPALA MEETINGS WITH MUSEVENI AND THE RPF I PRESSED
ON THIS. RPF REPRESENTATIVE RUDASINGWA TOLD ME A
MEETING COULD OCCUR IN THE NEXT TWO TO THREE DAYS AND
THAT IT HAD BEEN APPROVED BY THE RPF LEADERSHIP. I
WILL ALSO ATTEMPT TO SPEAK
K TO THE RWANDAN AMBASSADOR
AND DALLAIRE BY PHONE BEFORE LEAVING FOR GENEVA.

6. DALLAIRE PLAN FOR EXPANDED UNAMIR. WE HAVE READ
DALLAIRE'S DESCRIPTION TO BOB FLATEN OF HIS CONCEPT
OF A THREE-BATTALION EXPANDED UNAMIR (REFTEL A). WE
HAVE A MIXED REACTION. ON THE PLUS SIDE, A

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CHAPTER VI HUMANITARIAN OPERATION WITH THE MISSION OF
OPENING UP ACCESS TO AND PROTECTING VULNERABLE PEOPLE
SEEMS RIGHT. THE OAU AND THE REGIONAL LEADERS I HAVE
BEEN TALKING TO WOULD ALL GLADLY GIVE THEIR SUPPORT.
BOUTROS GHALI SHOULD MAKE THIS KIND OF HUMANITARIAN

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MISSION THE CENTERPIECE OF THE "CONCEPT OF OPERATION" PAPER THE SECURITY COUNCIL PRESIDENT HAS ASKED FOR (REFTEL B). THE SIZE OF THE NEW UNAMIR, THREE BATTALIONS, WOULD BE ABOUT WHAT IT WAS BEFORE THE DRAWDOWN. I THINK SALIM WOULD BE WILLING TO RECRUIT TWO NEW AFRICAN BATTALIONS TO SUPPLEMENT THE REINFORCED GHANAIANS.

7. ON THE NEGATIVE SIDE, THE DEPLOYMENT DALLAIRE ENVISIONS IS MUCH TOO KIGALI-ORIENTED. TWO OF THE THREE BATTALIONS WOULD ESSENTIALLY BE PROTECTING THE CAPITAL. THE GOR WOULD PRESUMABLY WANT TO REOCCUPY THE MINISTRIES FROM WHICH ITS OFFICIALS RECENTLY FLED. THE RPF WOULD RESIST AND UNAMIR WOULD BE IN THE MIDDLE. REMEMBER MOGADISHU. WE NEED AN INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE OUTSIDE THE CAPITAL TARGETED TO RELIEVE THE PRESSURE ON THE CONCENTRATIONS OF WOULD-BE REFUGEES ALONG THE BORDER.

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G. WE WOULD NOT WANT TO SUGGEST MICRO-MANAGING THE FORCE COMMANDER BUT THE IMPLICIT PHILOSOPHY BEHIND HIS DEPLOYMENT NEEDS TO BE RECONSIDERED. IF THIS IS TO BE A HUMANITARIAN MISSION, THEN THE UN FORCE NEEDS TO BE WHERE THE PEOPLE ARE - OUT ON THE HILLS.

9. MUSEVENI WAS INTERESTING ON THE INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE (SEE SEPTEL). HE SEES THE MILITARY ELEMENT AS CONSISTING OF INTEGRAL NATIONAL UNITS WITH ASSIGNED SECTORS AND A LIMITED HUMANITARIAN MISSION OF PROTECTING THE VULNERABLE. HE WANTS THE

B1

10. MOBUTU.

ON FRIDAY

B1

MADE THE POINT THAT MOBUTU STILL THINKS HE IS IN CHARGE OF ARUSHA AND THE RWANDA PROBLEM. THE TANZANIANS STILL DEFER TO MOBUTU - "THE SENIOR AFRICAN STATESMAN" - THOUGH THEY EXPECT LITTLE OF HIM. FOR WHAT IT IS WORTH, THEY ADVISE US NOT TO

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FORGET ABOUT MOBUTU, WHO COULD DECIDE TO RAIN ON OUR PARADE.

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11. I NEXT FLY TO GENEVA FOR MEETINGS WITH AYALA LASO, ICRC AND UNHCR ON SUNDAY ON MY WAY HOME. BRUNSON MCKINLEY IS HEADING OFF TO VISIT NGARA ON THE

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GROUND AND MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS ON FURTHER SUPPORT FOR THE INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN EFFORT. DAVID RAWSON WILL JOIN MY GENEVA MEETINGS AND WILL THEN GO TO PARIS TO CONSULT WITH THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT AND PERHAPS JOIN GEORGE MOOSE IN BRUSSELS FOR US-FRENCH-BELGIAN TRILATERALS NEXT FRIDAY.

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